R E P O R T R E S U M E S

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BILINGUALISM--FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR AND COUNSELOR.

BY- GAARDER, BRUCE AND OTHERS

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BILINGUAL SCHOOLING CAN BE DEFINED AS THE TEACHING OF ALL OR A FEW SUBJECTS (OVER AND ABOVE ENGLISH AND SPANISH THEMSELVES) THROUGH BOTH TONGUES, WHICH IS DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT THAN THE TEACHING OF A SECOND LANGUAGE AS AN ISOLATED SUBJECT. THE BILINGUAL SCHOOLS AT LAREDO, TEXAS, HAVE SUCCEEDED IN CREATING AN EFFECTIVE, "TWO-WAY," MIXED BILINGUAL SCHOOL SYSTEM, GIVING EQUAL TIME TO SPANISH AND ENGLISH. THE CORAL WAY SCHOOL, ANOTHER BILINGUAL SCHOOL LOCATED IN MIAMI, FLORIDA, IS ALSO "TWO-WAY," PROVIDING ABOUT EQUAL TIME FOR THE 2 LANGUAGES. HOWEVER, FROM GRADE 1 THROUGH GRADE 3, THERE IS CONSIDERABLY LESS MIXING OF THE 2 CULTURAL GROUPS. THE MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEM IN BILINGUALISM IS THAT OF GAINING FAVORABLE ADMINISTRATIVE ATTITUDE AND POLICY. BILINGUAL SCHOOLING IS PROFITABLE BECAUSE IT MAKES FOR SUPERIOR EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND STUDENTS CAN BEST LEARN THROUGH THEIR MOTHER TONGUE. THROUGH THIS APPROACH, BICULTURALISM CAN BE ACHIEVED, RATHER THAN THE CUTTING OF TIES FROM THE ORIGINAL CULTURE. A SUPPORTING BIBLIOGRAPHY IS INCLUDED, AND AN APPENDIX WHICH DESCRIBES A NUMBER OF BILINGUAL PROJECTS IN VARIOUS SCHOOLS. THIS PAPER WAS DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTHWEST COUNCIL OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS, EL PASO, TEXAS, NOVEMBER 4-5, 1966. (ES)

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Report I

ADMINISTRATORS AND COUNSELORS

BRUCE GAARDER, CHAIRMAN
United States Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

HAROLD BRANTLEY
United Consolidated Public Schools
Laredo, Texas

ADALBERTO GUERRERO
University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona

FRED E. ROMERO
State Department of Education
Denver, Colorado

SOLIA RODRIGUEZ
Pharr, San Juan, Alamo Schools
Pharr, Texas

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Bilingualism: From the Viewpoint of The Administrator and Counselor

SUMMARY OF REPORT

This report has two major divisions. The first division defines bilingual schooling, presents five variables affecting such schooling, analyzes the situation in specific school situations, as in Laredo and Miami, and discusses the nature of learning today. It then proceeds to a series of recommendations applicable to language teaching.

The second major division treats primarily the advantages of bilingualism and of the prime objectives of the Southwest Council program.

Returning to the first part of the report, we find bilingual schooling best defined as the "teaching of all or a few subjects (over and above English and Spanish themselves) through both tongues." There is of course, a sharp distinction between this and the mere teaching of a second language as an isolated subject.

Five variables to be considered are: (1) whether the language added to the monolingual English system is the mother tongue or a second language, (2) the time to be devoted to each language, (3) whether the schooling is "one-way" (as in Carbondale, Ill., where there are only Anglo-American students or "two-way" (as in Laredo), with both cultural groups and the addition of the second mother tongue, (4) the question of mixing or keeping the two different cultural groups segregated or separated, (5) whether or not to have different teachers for the two different languages.

There follows a description of the Laredo bilingual schools. Problems encountered and surmounted were the obtention of authorization from state authorities, the not-too-valid objections of some parents, the preparation of teachers, the choice of materials. The result has been the creation of an effective, "two-way," mixed bilingual school system giving equal time to Spanish and English. Students of Spanish language are happier, parents are becoming enthusiastic, work in different subjects is progressing faster, and the teachers themselves are inspired.

The Coral Way bilingual school in Miami is also "two-way," with about equal time for the two languages. However from grade one through grade three, there is considerably less mixing of the two cultural groups (as opposed to the Laredo situation). From grade level four up, one has arrived progressively to more mixing (represented in excellent charts), and there is in prospect a 1966-1967 project for mixing all students completely and thoroughly in grade six. One of the unique features of the Coral Way system is having *mixed* groups first function in *English alone* and then in *Spanish alone* for another three weeks. Another important step has been administration of the Otis Alpha mental maturity and Stanford achievement tests, showing that the students are now comparing very favorably with the national percentile. Performance in language itself has been most satisfactory.

Next, the report goes into necessary considerations in second

language learning in the modern era. In one's mother tongue, the acquisition of what is known in contemporary linguistics as " deep grammar" is an achievement that comes about unconsciously — and the first grader's progress will be henceforth one in the realm of "words." To teach the "deep grammar" (*tournures,* idioms, and structure that at times defy analysis, discussions, or concern with cardinal rules and that are acquired without awareness by the native child) to the learner of a second language, to avoid over-attention to "prestigious usage" and to the "words" fallacy, one should heed the following recommendations: (1) foster unconscious acquisition of the new tongue through pleasurable learning experiences, (2) use structured drills, (3) use the language itself as the only medium of instruction and make the structured drills fit into natural situations, (4) avoid "fuss" over the slight differences of various Western Hemisphere Spanish dialects.

Part two begins with statements advancing the obvious advantages of bilingualism and stating that the real problem in bilingualism stems largely from *educational and administrative attitude and policy* towards it. A following strong point is that we can very clearly best learn through our *mother tongue* (a consideration, incidentally, we must bear in mind in helping our Spanish American students).

Bilingual *schooling* is profitable because it makes for superior educational achievement (as proved, e. g., in the Lambert-Peal work on the relationship of bilingualism and intelligence).

A particularly stressed point is the adoption of a *"middle road"* in this whole program: no cutting of ties, be they Anglo-Saxon or Spanish, but the authentic realization of a literate, adjusted *biculturalism.* The very objective of the program of the Southwest Council is to get away from the old assimilation-by-alienation methods employed by the Anglo-Americans against Hispano-Americans and keeping the latter in a state of socio-economic degradation.

There follows the presentation of obvious distinctions between teaching a foreign language as just another subject and the incorporation of a second mother tongue in a school system and entire curriculum.

Finally, the report again dispells the idea of the uninformed that Spanish in the Southwest is "substandard" or not "real Spanish."

The supporting bibliography is included in a helpful set of explanatory notes; and the appendix is of real interest; for it describes in detail a number of bilingual projects in various schools about the nation. One such, for example, is the teaching in Spanish of general geography and Latin American literature to Spanish-speaking seniors in Albuquerque.

Bilingualism: From The Viewpoint of The Administrator and Counselor

PART ONE: BASIC POINTS AND SUPPORTING REFERENCES FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

I DEFINITION OF BILINGUAL SCHOOLING

"Bilingual schooling" means the use of two languages (in this essay, English and Spanish) as mediums of instruction for a child or a group of children in any part or all of the school curriculum except study of the languages themselves. For example, teaching all or a few subjects (except English and Spanish) through both tongues, or teaching some through English and some through Spanish would be bilingual schooling. Teaching one of the languages simply as a bridge to the other, or teaching one as a subject only, is not bilingual schooling.

II ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES

For convenience in discussing bilingual schools, there are five organizational variables that should be kept in mind.

a) The first variable is whether the language added to the present monolingual English system is the mother tongue or a second language. In terms of the dynamics of the school, this is the most important variable. (Spanish added in the University School, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, is a second language, because the mother tongue of all the children is English. Spanish added in the "Spanish for Spanish Speakers" program in Dade County, Florida, is the mother tongue. See Point V in the section for counselors.) [1]

b) The second variable is the extent to which equal time and treatment are given to the two languages. (See Point III in in the section for counselors.)

c) The third variable is whether the bilingual schooling is *one-way* or *two-way*. (The Spanish-S program in Miami is one-way, since it involves only Spanish speakers; the Carbondale school is one-way, with only Anglo pupils. (The United Consolidated Independent School District, near Laredo, Texas, has two-way bilingual schooling, adding Spanish as the mother tongue for Spanish speakers and adding it as a second language for the Anglo pupils.)

d) The fourth variable is whether or not, in a two-way school, the two language groups are kept separate or are mixed together in the classrooms. (The Laredo schools are mixed; the Coral Way and Central Beach schools in Miami are segregated in most classes in grades 1-3, mixed increasingly thereafter.) This variable applies only to the two-way school. Segregated classes are preferred by those who believe that the child's initiation to his second language — Spanish for the Anglos, English for the Spanish-speaking — is difficult enough to warrant special attention which cannot be given in mixed classes. To this belief is added the fear that six-

year-old second language beginners in mixed classes will be dominated, silenced, and their progress slowed by the native speakers.

Mixed classes are preferred by those who counter the above arguments with the fact that most bilingual schools have always had mixed classes, the supposition that children will learn as much from each other as from the teacher, and the belief that segregated classes are bad for other reasons not connected with language.

e) The fifth important organizational variable is whether or not the one-teacher, one-language principle is observed. It is generally agreed that in the interest of keeping the languages separate each should have its own times, its places and its sources.[2] It is considered best of all that the child learn each language from a different person or persons. Next best is that if one teacher must teach both languages they be strictly separated in time.

III The United Consolidated bilingual schools — Laredo, Texas

The three United Consolidated bilingual elementary schools are located where two different cultures meet and mix continuously — in a district where 53 per cent of the pupils have Spanish surnames. In one of the three schools about 94 percent have Spanish surnames. The bilingual program was started in September of 1964 in the first grades; the second grades were added in 1965, and the program is to continue at least through grade six.

The three schools — Nye, Johnson, and Cactus — are two-way, mixed schools, giving equal time and treatment to each language. The following ten points are descriptive of the schools and the steps leading to their conversion to bilingualism.

1. When the chief school administrator saw too many over-age children in each grade and noted the high incidence of Spanish surnames among those children, he sensed that something was wrong with the school program. This is the necessary first step toward a bilingual school.

2. The next step (in Texas) was to get clearance from the state department of education and the state's attorney general, because of legislation which makes English the sole medium of instruction. Clearance was readily obtained.

3. Next, the proposed bilingual program was fully described and explained to the district board of school trustees, to the people of the community, to the school staff, and to the students. An authority from outside the district was asked to participate in these meetings. Several special meetings were called.

4. There were two kinds of objections to the bilingual program: some Anglo parents feared their children would get less than a full share of productive school work; and some Hispano parents feared the program would hinder their efforts to identify with middle class Anglo culture.

5. The children were prepared by being told that they would spend part of their school day speaking in English and part in Spanish, and were made to feel strongly that each had a language he could be proud of and one the rest wanted to learn. Two years prior to this time the board of school trustees had established a policy encouraging all pupils to become bilingual.

6. The teachers in the program were required to attend a preliminary series of workshop sessions to discuss every detail of the program and work on lesson materials. In the first grades, bilingual teachers — highly literate in both languages — teach both through Spanish and through English. In the second grades, one teacher does the Spanish work, and another does the work in English.

7. Bilingual schools are somewhat more expensive than monolingual schools because of the added costs for inservice training sessions, consultants' services, and the extra teaching materials in the added language. The extra investment will pay extra dividends.

8. The Spanish language teaching materials are mostly from Mexico. They required some adaptation and modification to make them correspond in sequence to the materials published in English.

9. In the United Consolidated Schools Spanish is not taught as a mere bridge to English. The two languages get equal time and equal treatment. The children are mixed in the classrooms without regard to intelligence quotients, racial origin, or place of residence. From the first day they spend half of their time in English-speaking activities and half in Spanish-speaking activities. There are plenty of songs and games in each language. The two languages are used equally throughout the day, in each class period. Each language is used to reinforce and extend the learning accomplished through the other.

10. The United Consolidated District has not been able to finance the extra staff needed to evaluate the bilingual work objectively. Some subjective impressions gained from two years of experience are worth noting:

a) The Spanish speaking children are definitely happier in school than ever before.

b) Anglo parents and children are excited about the latter's new linguistic accomplishment.

c) Classes progress much faster, since all children know at all times what is going on and what is expected of them.

d) The teachers love bilingual work because of the pleasure the children get when every one of them can contribute and take part in the life experiences of the school.

IV THE CORAL WAY BILINGUAL SCHOOL — Miami, Florida *

Coral Way elementary has six grades, with normally four classes of each grade and about 720 pupils, half of them monolingual speakers of English, half Cuban children speakers of Spanish. Coral Way presents all subjects in grades 1-3 through the mother

* The description of Coral Way is adapted from an article on bilingual schools prepared by one member of the committee for a forthcoming issue of the *Journal of Social Issues.*

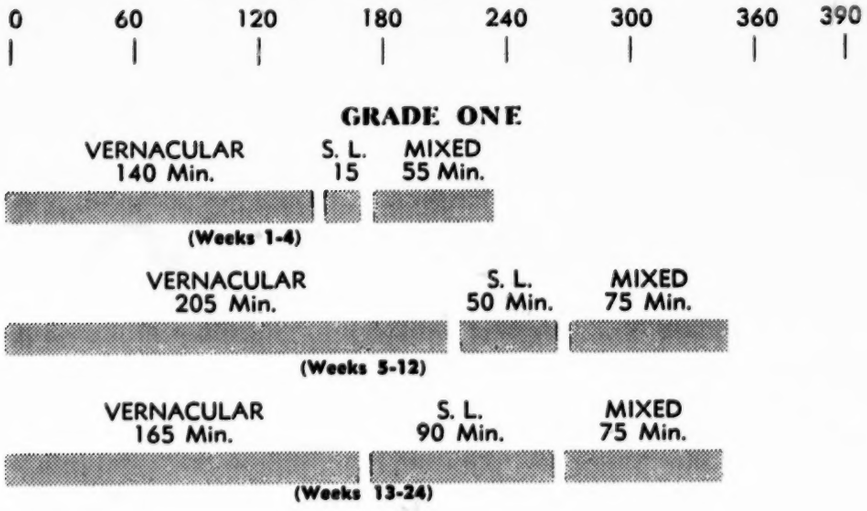
tongue for approximately half the day, and all are reinforced through the other tongue during the following half. These are segregated classes. For physical education, art, music, and supervised play the groups are mixed, and there is free interchange of both languages. In the fourth and fifth grades (the third year of operation of the school) it was found that the pupils' command of the second language was such that they could learn through it alone, without need of a duplicate class in the vernacular.

There are two sets of teachers, native English and native Spanish (four in all at each grade level) plus four bilingual teaching aides. The aides are responsible for the physical education, art, music and supervised play, and they give special help to slow learners and transfer pupils. They also make it possible for the regular teachers to have free time every day to keep the two halves of each child's program perfectly coordinated.

The bilingual program was initiated in grades 1-3 simultaneously, with the work in the second language gradually increased by stages until by approximately mid-year each child was getting half of his instruction through each of the languages. After the initial year there was staging in the first grade only. The two halves of each child's program are carefully coordinated, but each teacher is expected to work in her classroom as if there were no other language and the children's education depended on her alone. This means that the work in one language is not presented in terms of or with reference to the other language.

Coral Way provides the same curricular time allotments as in other Miami schools. Although the dual language reinforcing procedure gives maximum second language experience with minimum crowding of the curriculum, some time inevitably goes to the second language per se. This results in reducing the amount of extra-curricular activities during school hours.

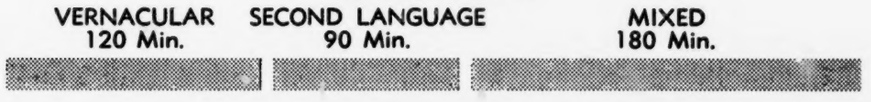
MINUTES IN THE SCHOOL DAY



GRADE TWO

GRADE THREE

GRADE FOUR



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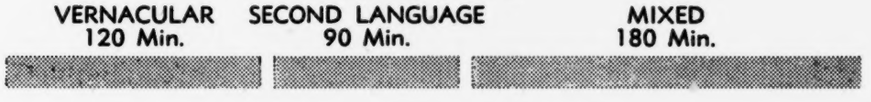


GRADE SIX

Time Distribution Pattern — Coral Way Elementary School "Vernacular" and "second language" mean the use of these as mediums of instruction. "Mixed" in grades 1-3 means physical education, art, and music only. In grades 4-6 "mixed" also means combined classes of Anglos and Cubans spending 3 weeks of each grading period working through English only, and 3 weeks working through Spanish only, in all subjects.

The most crucial teaching problem is considered to be the proper initiation of pupils (in grades 1-3 the first year of the school and in grade one thereafter) to the second language. The same problem occurs with transfer pupils who enroll initially above grade one. The Coral Way solution has two special features: 1) close coordination of each day's second language experience with the preceding experience in the vernacular, and 2) careful structuring of the second language experience so that although the teacher-class

interaction gives the impression of complete spontaneity, the teacher's portion is in fact worked out in advance to introduce and review constantly a specified corpus from the form and order systems and the lexicon of the new tongue. Detailed linguistic sequences for English as a second language and Spanish as a second language were developed in advance in order to incorporate the concepts of the content areas of the curriculum. The oral lesson material is supplemented by a great many pictures of objects and activities. As an additional precaution to assure a good second language beginning without detracting from the other curricular areas, the school day is lengthened one hour during the last twelve weeks in grade one, and one hour throughout the year in grade two. The regular second language teacher does the initiatory teaching in grade one. For transfer pupils it is done by the aides. Transfer pupils sit with their grade-mates all day, except that instead of the regular class in the second language per se they receive semi-private intiatory instruction from the aides. This work, 30-45 minutes daily, may be required for only a few weeks or it may go on for an entire year.

There are several indications that the Coral Way bilingual school has been sucessful. At the fourth and fifth grade levels the pupils begin to have mixed classes in each language without reinforcement in the other, because the teachers believe that their command of the second language has become strong enough for them to learn through it alone. Pupils who entered Coral Way in the first grade in September 1963 were given the Otis Alpha test of mental maturity (to establish a level of expectation for each child) and the Stanford Achievement tests, at the end of their third school year. Their scores, compared with those of the entire third grade and with national norms for these tests, are shown on page 15.

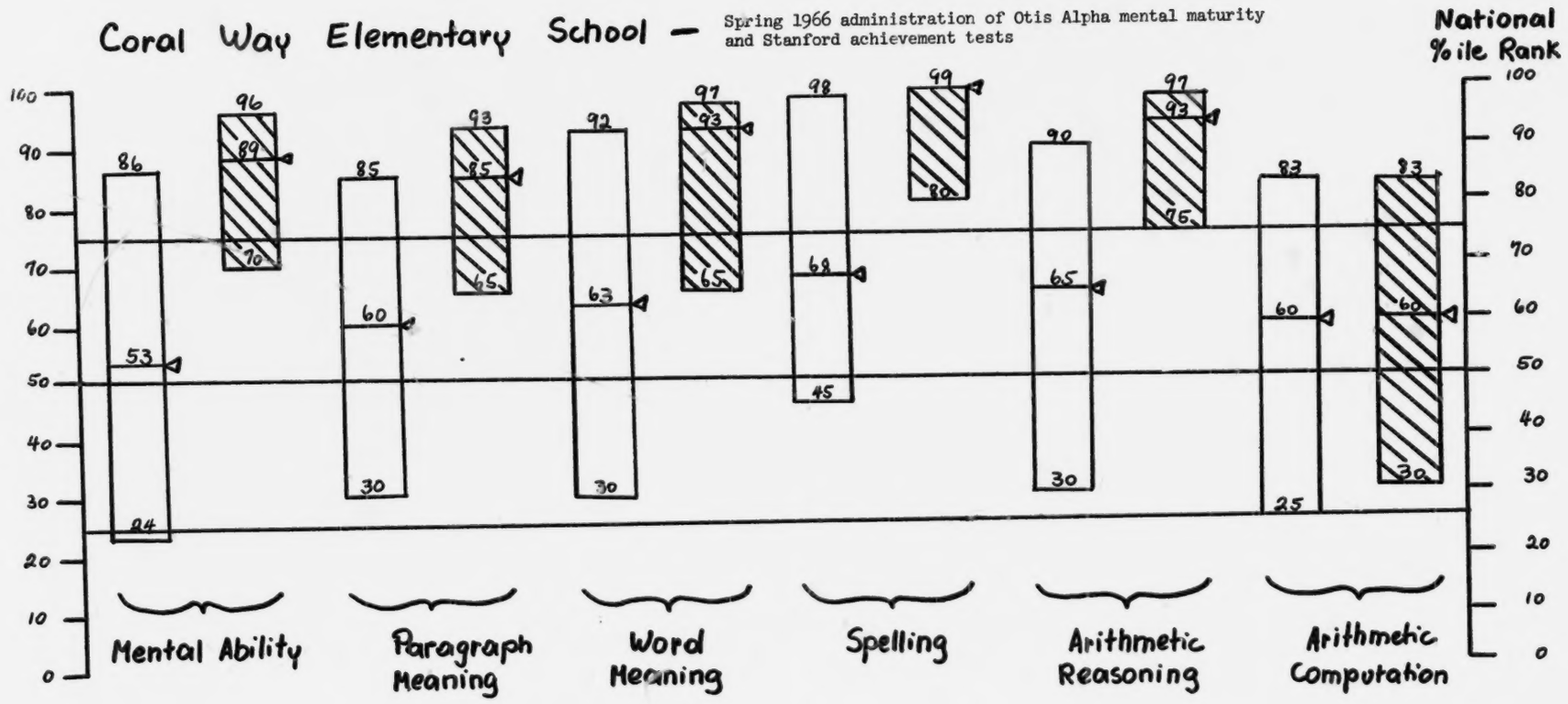
V Some Considerations Underlying Second Language Learning

Any bilingual schooling program will eventually include the use of standardized tests of pupil achievement. In addition to this, the administrator needs sufficient knowledge of how languages are learned, *especially a second language,* to guide him both in setting up the school and in judging its effectiveness in operation.

In the United States the second language is English if the child's mother or family tongue is Spanish. If the child's mother or family tongue is English, any other tongue could be the second one, but in this essay it is assumed to be Spanish. The difference between first and second language learning is crucially important, for all decisions about the choice of teachers, and their methods and teaching materials flow from this difference. The difference can best be discussed in terms of "grammar" and "words."

When children first enter school at age six they already know the grammar, the "deep grammar," of their native tongue.[3] They are "naive experts" who have unconsciously acquired command over all the basic patterns of the language (its highly complex, interrelated sytems of sound, form, and order) and have a vocabu-

Coral Way Elementary School — Spring 1966 administration of Otis Alpha mental maturity and Stanford achievement tests



Total third grade enrollment: 63 Anglos, 59 Cubans

38 Anglo third grades have had three full years in the bilingual program

The balance of the Anglos (25), and many of the 59 Cubans are late-comers or transfers. The Cubans are generally lower achievers than the Anglos, despite the fact that "fluency" in English is a prerequisite for taking these tests (all given in English). Expert observers have noted that the Anglo children acquire excellent pronunciation of Spanish, while the English of some of the Cuban children shows interference from Spanish. This is attributed to the fact that the former group hears nothing but native Spanish, while in the homes of the latter one hears a good deal of heavily accented English spoken by adult immigrants.

lary that may run as high as 24,000 words.[4] As a general rule native speakers, including native-speaker teachers, have no awareness whatsoever of this "deep grammar." Since teachers and pupils all possess it, deeply ingrained by life-long habit, it need not concern them. What is called "grammar" in schools is likely to be descriptive terminology taught to facilitate understanding points of usage, e. g., why one should say "between him and me" instead of "between him and I." Grammar in our grammar schools is focused on the niceties of prestigious usage. The "language arts" curriculum—prestigious usage, orthography, reading, and writing — is not concerned with "deep grammar." The language arts teachers are unaware of it and have not been taught how to teach it. Teaching deep grammar is essentially foreign language teaching. "Words" come into the discussion because people — including school people — have an almost unshakeable conviction that language is made up of words and that teaching — especially a second language —is essentially teaching words.[5] "Words," i. e., vocabulary building, are a negligible problem until after the child has gained considerable control of the deep grammar. Consider, for example, how much more than the mere "meanings of words" must be mastered before either of these sentences could be produced as a second language effort:

1. If I'd known it, I'd have told him.
2. De haberlo sabido, se lo hubiera dicho.
   (Of to have it known, him it I'd have told.)

"Meaning" itself is vastly more complicated than mere word-to-word correspondence, e. g., *perro* is *dog*. There is also "the meaning conveyed by the position, inflection, accent, intonation, and relationship of words."[6] The Commission on English of the College Entrance Examination Board cites an example of these other kinds of meaning: "Without thinking about it, he [the native-speaker child] will recognize that, in response to a statement, interrogatives such as *where, who,* and *what,* spoken with a rising intonation, call for repetition ("I'm going down town." "Where?" "Down town."); when spoken with a falling intonation, for more specific information ("I'm going down town." "Where?" "To the shopping district.")

Ignorance about "deep grammar," and the "words" fallacy cause no great harm if both teacher and pupils are middle or upper class native speakers. If the pupils are speakers of an unacceptable dialect or if they are second language learners, the result is likely to be unsatisfactory learning.

Teachers of language arts are trained to deal with the important but superficial problems of prestigious usage in speakers of standard or near-standard variants of their own language. What to do about non-standard dialects (which means a markedly different deep grammar) or second language learners (which means there is no deep grammar at all) is not a part of the teacher's preparation.

A few words and footnotes are in order on the topic of reading.

Two quotations, referring to how a child learns to read *in his native language* are pertinent. The first, from John Carroll, indicates the extent that reading is dependent on a command of language as speech:

> ". . . learning to read a language depends not only upon the ability to understand the spoken form of a language but also upon the ability to reconstruct the spoken forms of written messages . . . The activity of reading can, therefore, be analyzed into two processes: (a) on the basis of the written message, the construction or reconstruction of a spoken message or of some internal representation of it; and (b) the comprehension of messages so constructed.
>
> "The reconstruction of spoken messages from written messages depends upon the development of the speech repertory as a whole and particularly on the ability to recognize features of the spoken language system that correspond in some way with features of the writing system." [8]

The second quotation, from the Commission on English, deals with the question of time:

> "At least three or four years will be required to bring the child's reading proficiency to the level of his ability to speak and understand, and to make reading a means of enlarging his linguistic experience and competence. It will take still longer for him to write with reasonable competence." [9]

The quotations above refer to the *native*-speaker child entering elementary school to study through his own *native* tongue. If the statements are true, they are certainly no less true of the child who is learning through a second language.

The positive recommendations which flow from the above discussion are these:

1. There should be maximum reliance on the young child's capacity for natural, unconscious acquisition of second-language deep grammar when he is wholly engaged in situations where the new language is an unemphasized means to other, pleasant, significant ends and there is no involvement of the other language.
2. Since six years of age is already somewhat late and because there will inevitably be slow learners and transfer pupils, teachers of the second language must be qualified to help the child quickly and systematically to acquire command of the deep grammar of the new tongue. This calls for a structured presentation.
3. Since the attention of the young child language learner cannot profitably be fixed on language itself, but should be fixed beyond language on his involvement in meaningful situations, it follows that the teacher's structured presentation, insofar as possible, should give the effect of natural, spontaneous

language. The basic teaching strategy is simple: each teacher should work in the classroom as if there were no other language in the world and the child's entire education depended on her efforts.

Part Two: Basic Points and Supporting References for Counselors

I There Is No Evidence That Bilingualism Per Se Is A Handicap

The Jensen and Haugen review of scores of studies of bilingualism reveal that where bilingualism has been found to be a problem is commonly in situations where child-speakers of a home language which is different from the school language are given no formal instruction in and through their home language.[10] It is important to bear in mind that such studies are of bilingualism, *not of bilingual schooling*.

The evidence seems to be that the problems of bilingual children arise not from the fact of their speaking two languages, but from educational policy affecting the *two* languages, and from other factors, sociological and economic, outside of the school. The fact is that bilingualism is eagerly sought, world-wide, both by the elite and by the middle and lower classes, for the intellectual and economic advantages it can bring. This is most readily apparent in the newly-emerging nations, but is no less true in older countries such as Belgium, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Mexico.[11]

II "It Is Axiomatic, World-Wide, That The Best Medium For Teaching A Child Is His Mother Tongue."

Continuing the quotation, "Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium."[12]

It is true, as LePage points out, that in multilingual communities and when the mother tongue has little or no written literature, it is extremely difficult to observe the axiom. This is obviously not true in the case of Spanish.

III There Is Evidence That If School Policy And Other Conditions Are Favorable, Bilingual Schooling Results In Superior Educational Achievement.

The most revealing study is by Wallace Lambert and Elizabeth Peal.[13] It suggests strongly the superiority of bilinguals over monolinguals when control and experimental groups were of equal socio-economic status and the degree of the experimental subjects' bilingualism was taken fully into account. The Lambert-Peal study and other evidence (e.g., test score data from the Coral Way elementary school in Miami, set forth elsewhere in this essay) indicate that apart from factors outside the school and its control, the effectiveness of bilingual schooling depends on *the time and*

treatment given to each of the languages.

IV THERE IS EVIDENCE OF INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A MIDDLE ROAD FOR THE SPANISH-SPEAKING BILINGUAL: NEITHER SUBCULTURAL ISOLATION FROM THE MAIN STREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE, NOR THE ALIENATION OF "CUT ALL TIES, AND ANGLICIZE." The middle road is biculturalism built on strong literacy in both English and Spanish.

> "Often . . . a culture is rendered obsolete and an anachronism on another. This the case of the Spanish folk culture in relation to the Anglo culture. . . . there is no justification other than pure nostalgia to preserve that culture.
>
> "The only salvation for the Spanish-American who finds himself in the painful and traumatic road of transition is complete acculturation and assimilation. . . . If we insist on preserving the minority group's culture we are insisting on a cultural zoo where tourists may come and feed us peanuts much like the monkeys in the cage. If we insist that a minority group member retains his cultural identity we are asking him to remain a foreigner. And Americans hate foreigners and we are asking him to be the object of vicious prejudice and discrimination.
>
> "Furthermore, in the case of the Spanish-Americans the process of acculturation has gone so far as to make it irreversible." [14]

In this view, the task of the counselor and the administrator is to set the school on a course of action that will give every member of the faculty and student body — indeed the whole community — complete understanding of the acculturation and urbanization process.

The emerging view — the middle road — is the theme of this paper and previous publications of the Southwest Council of Foreign Language Teachers. In this view the policy of assimilation-by-alienation helps to maintain the low socio-economic status quo of the Spanish-speaking community because it results in constant loss of the best educated, the potential leaders. On the other hand — the middle view contends — if those potential leaders remain attached by strong linguistic and other communal bonds there will be ever more and stronger native voices speaking up to defend the community.

In addition to the work of the Southwest Council, other projects, under way, or being planned, are seeking or taking the new middle road. See the Appendix.

V INSOFAR AS EDUCATIONAL POLICY IS CONCERNED, THERE IS AN IMMENSE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ADDING A SECOND LANGUAGE MEDIUM TO THE CURRICULUM AND ADDING THE MOTHER TONGUE MEDIUM TO THE CURRICULUM.

When a second language is added as a medium of instruction the school is choosing to foster bilingualism where none existed before. The reasons are:

a) To take advantage of the young child's extraordinary ability to learn a new language unconsciously, effortlessly, avoiding the problems and pain of regular foreign language courses; [15]
b) By using the second language to teach other subjects, to give the child maximum exposure to the new language without taking time from the rest of the curriculum;
c) Cultural enrichment, economic gain, etc., the usual reasons for learning a foreign language.

When the mother tongue is added to the curriculum it is not a question of fostering bilingualism where none existed before: the bilingualism is there and it cannot be eradicated by law, wishful thinking, or school policies. The question is whether the existing bilingualism is to be an asset or a liability. The main reasons for adding the mother tongue are entirely different:

a) To avoid the retardation that results when the child is obliged to learn through a language he does not command;
b) To establish a close, mutually-reinforcing relationship between the home and the school;
c) To avoid the traumatic alienation from family and community that commonly results from the "cut all ties, and anglicize" policy; [16]
d) A final set of reasons — cultural enrichment, economic gain, etc., — apply here as they apply to second language learning, except that the potential for developing the mother tongue is far greater.

VI THE DEROGATORY REMARKS ABOUT THE "QUALITY" OF THE SPANISH SPOKEN IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST ARE USUALLY UNINFORMED AND SHOULD USUALLY BE DISREGARDED.

It is true that there are regional variations from the standard Spanish of Mexico, notably the archaistic remnants in northern New Mexico and the "pachuco" argots of some cities, and there is widespread recourse to lexical borrowing from English. What matters in determining school procedures is the extent to which the "deep grammar" (See Point V for administrators) and the sound system vary from the standard. The judgment for each locality can best be made by a specialist in descriptive linguistics who speaks Spanish very well. The minimum requirement for participation in a mother tongue development program is the ability to understand readily ordinary conversation and simple explanations given in the language by a native speaker.

SUPPORTING REFERENCES

1. The Illinois school became bilingual in 1963-64 in kindergarten and grade one. All pupils received 30 minutes of "subject-matter" instruction daily *through* Spanish. In 1964-65 and 1965-66 the time was increased to one hour daily. A grade level is added each year. The plan is to divide the day equally between the two languages as soon as funds can be secured to employ the teachers. The principal is Mr. Roger E. Robinson.
The Spanish-S program, grades 1-12, provides for native Spanish speakers one class period daily of Spanish language arts and literature. This is in no sense like traditional foreign language teaching. Course syllabi can be secured from the Dade County Superintendent of Schools, Lindsey Hopkins Building, Miami, Florida.

2. There is some discussion favoring mixing the languages in the article by Esther Dartigue, "Bilingualism in the Nursery School," in the *French Review*, vol. XXXIX, No. 4, February 1966. For the other point of view see H. H. Stern (ed.) *Foreign Languages in Primary Education: The Teaching of Foreign or Second Languages to Younger Children* (Report on an International Meeting of Experts, 9-14 April, 1962, International Studies in Education) Hamburg: UNESCO Institute of Education, 1963.

3. W. Freeman Twaddell, "Does the FL Teacher Have to Teach English Grammar," in *PMLA*, vol. LXXVII, No. 2, May 1962, p. 20.

4. *Freedom and Discipline in English — Report of the Commission on English*, New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1965, p. 23.

5. Consider the emphasis on words in the "little school of the 400" program.

6. George A. C. Scherer et al., "Reading for Meaning," pp. 46-47, in *Language Learning: The Intermediate Phase — Reports of the Working Committees*, Northeast Conference on the Teaching of the Foreign Languages, 1963 (Available through Modern Language Association, 4 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.)
Preschool Instructional Program for Non-English Speaking Children, Bulletin 642, Austin, Texas: Texas Education Agency, 1964.

7. Commission on English, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

8. John B. Carroll, "A Psycholinguistic Analysis of Reading Behavior," in *English Teaching Forum*, vol. IV, No. 1, Spring 1966, pp. 2-7.

9. Commission on English, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

10. J. Vernon Jensen, *Bilingualism — Effects of childhood bilingualism* (Reprinted from *Elementary English*, Feb. 1962, pp. 132-145, April 1962, pp. 358-366) Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1962.
Einar Haugen, *Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography Guide*. American Dialect Society Publication, No. 26. University of Alabama Press, 1956.

11. R. B. LePage, *The National Language Question — Linguistic Problems of Newly Independent States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. This is a particularly illuminating treatment of language problems as they relate to communal, cultural, patriotic, and economic interests, particularly in multilingual areas.

12. UNESCO, *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education* (Monographs on Fundamental Education — VIII) Paris: UNESCO, 1963, p. 11 and *passim*. H. H. Stern (ed.) *op. cit.*

13. Wallace Lambert and Elizabeth Peal, "The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence," in *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, No. 546, vol. 76, No. 27, Washington, D. C.: American Psychological Association, 1333 16th St., N. W., 1962

14. Horacio Ulibarri, *The Perplexities for the Individual in Transition*, Alamosa, Colorado: Adams State College (The Center for Cultural Studies) 1964.

15. H. H. Stern, *op. cit.*, chapter 11.
Theodore Andersson, "The Optimum Age for Beginning the Study of Modern Languages," in *International Review of Education*, vol. 6, No. 3, 1960, pp. 298-306.
Wilder Penfield and L. Roberts, *Speech and Brain Mechanisms*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956, final chapter.

16. William Madsen, "The Alcoholic Agringado," in *American Anthropologist*, 66, 1964, pp. 355-361.

Appendix: Some bilingual schools and related projects in the United States

I ONE-WAY SCHOOLS

A. Adding the mother tongue
   a. Equal time, treatment (None Known)
   b. Unequal time, treatment
      1. Spanish-S program in grades 1-12, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Fla. (See footnote No. 1.)
      2. Spanish language arts, plus health, music, social studies in grades 1-4, 30 minutes daily, in three elementary schools, Houston, Texas, Independent School District. Olivia Muñoz, Supervisor of Foreign Language.
      3. Latin American literature and geography in Spanish to Spanish speakers at senior high school level. Albuquerque (New Mexico) Public Schools. Ann Komadina, Foreign Language Consultant.
      4. Spanish and Mexican literature and commercial correspondence in Spanish to native speakers in Pueblo High School, Tucson, Arizona, since 1959. Henry Oyama, Foreign Language Department Chairman.
      5. Spanish and Spanish American history and literature, in Spanish to native speakers in Phoenix (Arizona) Union High School. María Vega, teacher.

B. ADDING SECOND LANGUAGE
   a. Equal time, treatment (None Known)
   b. Unequal time, treatment
      1. World history, etc., in French, Spanish, to advanced Anglo language students in ten Virginia high schools. Helen P. Warriner, Supervisor of Foreign Languages, Virginia State Department of Education, Richmond.
      2. Biology in German to advanced students of German in Carbon High School, Price, Utah. Lynn Broadbent, teacher.
      3. University School, Spanish to Anglos in grades K-6, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill. (See footnote No. 1.)

II TWO-WAY SCHOOLS

A. Mixed classes
   a. Equal time, treatment
      1. United Consolidated School District, Laredo, Texas; Spanish and English in three elementary schools. Harold C. Brantley, Superintendent.

B. Segregated classes
   a. Equal time, treatment
      1. Coral Way Elementary, Miami, Florida; Spanish and English to Anglos and Cubans; grades 1-6. Art, music, physical education, mixed; other classes increasingly mixed in grades 4-6. J. Lee Logan, Principal.
      2. Central Beach Elementary, Miami Beach, Florida. Same plan as Coral Way, above.

III Related Projects

A. Mexican-American Study Project, University of California, Los Angeles. Director, Dr. Leo Grebler. Supported by Ford Foundation. A large-scale "bench-mark" study covering five states and attending to basic demographic, economic, political, and cultural aspects of Mexican-American life. 1963-67. (Information supplied by Dr. Joshua Fishman.)

B. Survey of the teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking, completed with support from Deparmtent of Rural Education of the National Education Association. Project chairman: María Urquides, Pueblo High School, Tucson, Arizona.

C. The Ann Arbor (Michigan) Public Schools have support from the U. S. Office of Education for statewide planning of foreign language development including a "humanities and area-study approach to foreign language team teaching" to integrate FL study with other course work through its use as a medium in the 12th grade; and the development and conservation of native bilingualism in self-selected Michigan communities, by adding the mother tongue as a medium, K-12, to reinforce the regular curriculum. The project director is James McClafferty.

D. Extensive experiment, 1964-66, to compare effect on reading readiness (in Spanish-speaking first graders) of intensive audiolingual language instruction in English with intensive audiolingual instruction in Spanish. San Antonio Independent School District, Dr. Thomas D. Horn, University of Texas, Director.

E. Many of the dreams of the Southwest Council of Foreign Language Teachers have taken form in the Title III pilot program which was inagurated in 1966 under the auspices of the El Paso Public Schools. Significant findings will be released at a later date by Mrs. Marie Esman Barker, Program Director.